

They're Killing China by Mass Murder

PEGGY DURDIN

Witnesses fleeing Red China, in Hong Kong got these lessons on how the communists, last year, have sentenced a Chinese to death or hard labor.

HONG KONG. These communists are writing a new chapter in the history of brutality and oppression in China. Last fall they have arrested, executed or sent to hard labor more than 1,000,000 people. Making a ruthless, systematic effort to exterminate the political enemy of their regime and terrify the population into passively accepting their rule.

Liquidations are not a communist innovation. In ancient human life has always been cheap. Many centuries ago the great Ch'in emperor, Shih Huang-ti, unified Chinese society by burning the books of Confucian scholars. In modern times the communists have killed many who opposed the government. But the communist operations in the last months surpass all political purges of the past in scope, efficiency and refinement of method.

The communists cry to high heaven that they are acting on the urgent demand of the people. They justify their actions by eliminating those they distrust, by purging the Chinese people—long addicted to a philosophy of passive acceptance—to take active part in the campaign of suppression by denouncing their relatives and participating in a grim succession of "trials" and executions.

Spectacles, essentially official lynchings, are common from the public beheadings of bandits to the public executions of political prisoners. Spectators gathered to watch in China for centuries. Government organized and communist "trials" of men already sentenced to death by military tribunals are cynically staged to appear to be spontaneous expressions of the people's wrath.

These trials are carefully planned both to terrify the people and to arouse mass hysteria—to delude them into believing that the liquidations are a manifestation of the people's will and power.

On the morning of one cold day last year, the mayor of the communist capital, Peiping, presided over a meeting of 10,000 citizens in Chungshan Square. In the light of the serene and gold-tiled roofs of the Forbidden City. Guards dragged in and pushed to the front 25 "counterrevolutionaries" condemned to death. These criminals, Peiping officials declared, were secret agents.

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At Chinese-communist public "trials," the terrorized crowds—whose attendance is mandatory—are carefully rehearsed in their "spontaneous" demands for death to their enemies.



Any trumped-up charge is enough to hang an anti-Red. Thousands of Chinese like these condemned men are executed without trial, without knowing what they were accused of.

A Red farmer puts the finger on a Nationalist. The people are urged to spy on their friends and report "counterrevolutionaries." Children are encouraged to denounce their own parents.



THEY'RE RULING CHINA BY MASS MURDER

(Continued from Page 31)

and despots who had butchered and oppressed the people. Then seventeen men and women, "victims of persecution" of the condemned men, shouted dramatic accusations against them.

Queried Mayor Peng, "Delegates and comrades, what is to be done with these important secret agents, bandit leaders, despots and leaders of secret societies?"

The crowd, shouting, "Execute them! Shoot the despots!"

Mayor Peng, "You are right! They should be executed! (Great applause.) Should magnanimity still be shown them?"

The crowd shouting, "No!"

Mayor Peng, "There should be no magnanimity! There can be no magnanimity! . . . Some would ask: Is it cruel to execute these criminals?"

The crowd, shouting, "It is not cruelty!"

Mayor Peng, "No, it is not cruelty. It is the greatest benevolence."

The crowd, "Execute the counter-revolutionaries! Uphold the People's Government! Uphold Mayor Peng! Long live Chairman Mao!"

Mayor Peng, "Delegates and comrades, thank you for your confidence in us. We shall certainly act according to your wishes."

The twenty-five were executed publicly the next day, "to the great elation of the masses," according to the communists.

By government order, this trial was imitated over and over through the following months in most of China's towns and cities. There were certain local flourishes. In Chungking an accuser sent her mother to her death, shouting, "I beg the government to execute her so that she may no longer do harm to the people!" In a little Kwangsi town officials gave the spectators bamboo staves with which to belabor the prisoner.

But in essentials the trials did not differ, whether they were held in Shanghai's great sports stadium or in the market place of a little Kwangtung vil-

lage. This act authorized imprisonment or death not only for espionage and sabotage but for a long list of vaguely phrased activities such as "participating in counterrevolutionary activities," "spreading rumors" and "alienating and splitting the solidarity between the government and the people."

Article 16 stated that any other counterrevolutionary crimes not specified in the regulations could also be punished with imprisonment or death. Article 18 made the regulations retroactive. This all-inclusive directive gave hundreds of thousands of little local officials over China—many of them under twenty-five, fanatical, overzealous and inexperienced—unlimited authority to define counterrevolutionary activity and punish it with death. A few communist statements cautioned that investigations must be thorough. This advice was buried under an avalanche of official speeches and editorials emphatically urging "all-out, ruthless suppression." Local officials were warned not to be "diffident . . . excessively legal . . . technical" or "mechanical" in interpreting and applying the regulations.

It is not difficult to appeal to the brutal instincts of a mob. In China, where an oppressive landlord is involved, peasants may vent through a government-sponsored killing the accumulated resentments of centuries.

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After forty practically any form of exercise becomes a stiff workout. —GLEN PRESTON BURNS.

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It is a tragic fact that many young people seem to enjoy the trials. But many, perhaps most, Chinese adults view these spectacles with distaste. In a Szechwan trial, older peasants invited certain arrest by rising and defending the prisoner. In Nanking an audience once refused twice to shout for execution. Such instances are rare. The practical Chinese, realizing the futility of risking arrest for a man already condemned to death, shrug their shoulders, utter the classic Chinese phrase of "Mei yu fa tze" (There's no help for it) and shout "Kill!" when the signal is given.

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The Campaign for the Suppression of Counterrevolutionaries, for which these trials were the symbol, commenced in the fall of 1950, virtually unnoticed by a world engrossed with the outbreak of war in Korea. Until late summer of 1950, the communists seemed to rely more on indoctrination than force to establish their system in the areas they controlled. They treated everyone except landlords with comparative leniency. Hundreds of thousands of former Kuomintang Party members and petty government officials remained in China instead of fleeing to Hong Kong or Formosa, lulled to a false security by a communist promise of general amnesty. Many of them even worked for the communists.

The first indication of a tougher policy was a July directive authorizing severe punishment for espionage, revolt and sabotage. Subsequent official statements pointed out that the government had been making the mistake of "boundless magnanimity" toward its enemies. Arrests and executions then began on a limited but increasing scale.

On February 21, 1951, the real blow fell. Peiping promulgated under Mao Tse-tung's signature the Regulations of the People's Republic of China for the Punishment of Counterrevolution-

aries. This act authorized imprisonment or death not only for espionage and sabotage but for a long list of vaguely phrased activities such as "participating in counterrevolutionary activities," "spreading rumors" and "alienating and splitting the solidarity between the government and the people."

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It is now no time for any locality to be timid in the suppression of counter-revolutionaries," editorialized the official press. "We must proceed from the interests of the broadest masses and not from the viewpoint of outworn laws."

Madame Shih Liang, China's minister of justice, reminded the communist bureaucracy that courts and prisons were after all simply instruments for furthering the people's democratic dictatorship. Pointing out the importance of Article 16, she said, "Mercy to our enemies is really cruelty to the people."

It is highly unlikely that the Peiping government itself has any accurate count of the numbers arrested or shot under the sanction of the February directive. Day after day, month after month, countless thousands disappeared into China's bulging jails. Extra buildings, such as Buddhist temples and Catholic chapels, had to be requisitioned to hold the prisoners, many of whom were shot without publicity.

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Police seized all kinds of people—teachers, bandits, street vendors, guerrillas, missionaries, generals, shopkeepers, secret agents, newspapermen, workmen, landlords, doctors, peasants and priests. In an attempt to rouse unreasoning hate of America, communist propagandists made incessant, unsubstantiated claims that many of these were "agents" of the United States. Fear became the daily companion of innumerable Chinese in great cities like Shanghai as well as tiny remote villages, from Northern Manchuria to the borders of British-held Hong Kong.

Liquidations were much more severe in the towns and villages than in the cities. This was due to the fact that in the countryside the campaign against counterrevolutionaries was often amalgamated with the drive against landlords, a class the communists intend to exterminate. Northern and Northwestern China suffered least—in the latter the communists are proceeding warily with the large Moslem community.

Evidence of the vast, indiscriminate scope of the purge comes from many recent European residents of China who have themselves spent months in prison, whose property has been used for jails, whose homes overlooked execution grounds and to whom communists have sometimes talked frankly.

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tastes
with a
knowing
hand . . .



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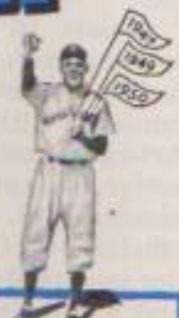
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These observers report daily executions of 200 in Hankow and Nanking for two to three months. Two thousand were killed in a Kwangsi town of 30,000. A European traveler counted sixty dead bodies left lying along one mile of highway he traveled by bus.

Chinese and Europeans from Shanghai estimate that 20,000 were jailed in that city's first mass arrests during the last week of April. Night after night, trucks, commandeered busses, ambulances, fire engines and Jeeps packed with prisoners drove noisily, sirens screaming, through the streets. Every day in the following three months Shanghai residents could see truckloads of prisoners, hands tied behind their backs, being hurried off to execution or jail. Communists themselves announced the arrest of 11,400 in May. They publicly announced the execution of about 400 persons in July, and reported twice in early August the sentencing of 1000 in a single day.

The ruthless suppression of their enemies, communists emphasized, must be done "with fanfare"—or, to translate the term literally, "in the open, with banners and drums." Public trials were only one channel of publicity. Newspapers, radio, comic books, pamphlets, posters, magazines, blackboard news sheets, plays, operas, movies, vaudeville and magic-lantern shows pictured spies and saboteurs—often directed by evil-faced Americans—murdering, raping and sabotaging in every nook and corner. For weeks communists lectured on the counterrevolutionary campaign in schools and the dreary succession of daily study groups to which people are now subjected. The government organized parades and exhibits. One in Peiping displayed a photograph of "foreign spies" which, a visitor noted, was a picture of the Duke and Duchess of Edinburgh.

A system of police control infinitely more efficient than China had ever known in thousands of years of autocratic government made it possible for the communists to dig out of obscurity anyone who might harbor suspicious thoughts. Every single resident of a Chinese town or city must have a residence permit. He must get police permission to spend the night away from his house, travel outside his city or entertain an overnight visitor. In addition to regular police and plain-clothesmen, agents of the Bureau of Public Security watch a man's every move. They enter his house or place of business at will. Then they question his associates, his children, his servants, his friends, his relatives, his neighbors and his neighbors' children on his life and ideas. They quiz him interminably on his income, his activities, his past history, and particularly his opinions and beliefs: What do you think about Korea? What do you think about America? It is not surprising that one young man committed suicide after police had entered his house to interrogate him politely for sixty consecutive days.

Perhaps what has most distinguished the Campaign Against Counterrevolutionaries from previous liquidations in China is the government's effort to get the Chinese people to spy on and denounce others to the police.

"The government needs people to

tate to report because you don't know the whole thing. Keep an eye on your neighbors."

The press praised a man in Shanghai who alone denounced sixty persons, a North China city of 50,000 which produced 1500 letters of denunciation in a single month, and a Manchurian who walked 100 miles to denounce someone to the police.

The purpose of this emphasis on denunciation was not only to utilize a man's fears, ambition or personal spites to get evidence for the government. It was also to make every man distrustful of his friends or fellow workers, afraid to voice unorthodox views—an isolated unit except in activities sponsored by the communists.

A special communist objective was to get children to denounce adults, particularly their parents. Adults were urged to denounce their relatives. This was a direct and deliberate attack on the basic unit of Chinese life, the family, and the fundamental Confucian moral values, veneration of the old by the young and loyalty to family and friends. It served the important communist purpose of insulating the young people from the ideals and ideas of the older generations. In China today it is a foolhardy noncommunist parent who speaks frankly and freely before his daughters and sons.

In school, where everything is subordinated to intensive political indoctrination, teachers queried children about their parents' conversation and urged them to be spies and detectives. A popular comic strip in Shanghai described the exploits of a child of four or five who daily unearths counterrevolutionaries for the police by such methods as lurking under park benches. Another typical comic strip showed a boy ferreting from his relatives the whereabouts of his counterrevolutionary father, leading cops to the spot, luring his father from his hiding place by saying, "Father, I am going to the latrine. Will you accompany me?" and turning him over to the waiting police. "What you have done as a member of the Youth Corps is right," says his mother approvingly.

In newspapers, letters appeared like the following:

Dear Editor-comrade: A few nights ago two women visited at our house. They smiled at me rather unnaturally. When somebody knocked at the door suddenly, they appeared uneasy. At first I thought they were just plain women.

Not very long ago, however, I found out that they are the wife and daughter of landlord Li Chao-kan. Suddenly all the crimes they committed during the Japanese occupation and their oppression of innocent villagers came to my memory. But I felt natural human pity for them, since Li, their husband and father, was already executed.

Later I realized that pity for them was a grave mistake. It was a dangerous thought. Their hands drip with the blood of the people. Without any more hesitation, I reported them to the police and had them arrested. From then on, the big lump hanging uncomfortably in my throat was removed.

(signed) HU YAO-HSIUAN,
of the Changchow High School

Subjected to a barrage of indoctrination impregnated with emotion and unconsciously resentful of the old family conventions, many a child has undoubtedly denounced his elders and relatives. Some have the

HISTORY TELLS US Says Mr. T.

When William Shakespeare
wrote his plays
The old goose quill
was all the craze,



"WHAT HO," cried he,
in accents low,
"This foul quill
is much too slow!"



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highly skilled technicians was arrested because the workmen struck against the communist control commission running the company. Every single relative of a former Kuomintang official was brutally slaughtered because, refusing to join the communist government, he had fled the country.

A careful analysis of communist reports and testimony of eyewitnesses leads to the conclusion that in a majority of cases Chinese are arrested not because they commit some overt act against the state, but because they belong to classes or categories distrusted by the communists and suspected of harboring dangerous (unorthodox) thoughts. They are sources of potential opposition to the regime.

Automatically arrested and often executed are former members of the very extensive Kuomintang secret services, ex-Kuomintang army officers above the rank of company commanders who are not in use as figureheads, leaders of China's ancient secret societies and the bigger landlords of any community. Liable to arrest are officials, however petty or long retired, who served during the period of Kuomintang rule, even though they never

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One of the best ways for a mother to keep her girlish complexion is to hide it from her teenage daughter. —DAN BENNETT.

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joined the Kuomintang Party and may, in fact, have been working since "Liberation" for the communists.

Also under intense suspicion are members of secret societies and the former Kuomintang Party and youth organizations; individuals who once worked for or associated with Europeans, particularly Americans; ex-guerrillas who had surrendered on offer of amnesty and been "re-educated" by the communists; landlords; the comparatively well-to-do or prominent figures of any community, however popular; and intellectuals—professors, doctors, lawyers, newspapermen—who fail to throw in their lot vociferously with the communists.

In the cities the communists bring to public trial chiefly individuals the public might readily accept as vicious. Among them are certainly a number of Kuomintang secret agents, active or retired, and generally undesirable characters, although there is no way to check the sweeping and often fantastic charges made against them.

These are typical descriptions of local despots and bandits.

"Habitual robber Tran Shih-liang murdered Wang Chin-hai and boiled the young daughter of another victim in a red-hot pan."

"Despot Fu Hsui-shan, nicknamed the Hill Emperor, raped a seventeen-year-old peasant girl, kept her for twenty years, neither taking her as wife nor allowing her to marry others, and strangled to death all the seven babies she begot, throwing them all into mountain ditches. Eventually he drove her away and she starved to death."

"Hsueh Hsin-shan was a bandit

currency, mistreating the people, "hampering the revolution," "loyally serving the blood-stained regime of Chiang Kai-shek," "faking repentance after Liberation," and "writing reactionary articles to defame the People's Government." Another charge is spreading rumors, such as "Chiang Kai-shek is going to return," "Tilling the land doesn't pay because the government takes the grain in taxes," and "The communists are killing people in my village."

Many of the charges refer to "crimes" committed years, even decades ago. One man was executed for acts dating back to the Ch'ing Dynasty, which ended in 1912. Another was killed for being a landlord and "the descendant of a traitor."

The communists are settling many an ancient score of their own, arresting and killing those who fought or opposed them long before their accession to power. Such men are accused of breaking up the communist underground, fighting the communists in military campaigns such as the Long March of 1934, executing communists and persecuting communist and pro-communist students and union leaders while the Kuomintang ruled China.

Proof that charges are often completely fabricated comes from cases where foreign missionaries arrested, jailed and deported as counterrevolutionaries have been falsely accused of espionage, radio communication with Formosa, murder of "tens of Chinese" and the deliberate slaughter of "tens of thousands" of Chinese babies. In some cases communist authorities have planted "evidence" on the premises, such as a gun and opium. The personal experience of many a foreigner shows that if the communists wish to arrest and convict someone, any trivial, trumped-up or fantastic charge may be used against him.

But no public charge is ever made against most Chinese who are jailed. A man is seized and thrown behind bars. No explanation is given his relatives. His guilt generally presumed by the authorities, he may be further interrogated and investigated. He has no legal advice. He can summon no witnesses in his defense. A special military tribunal secretly decides his sentence, which may be rubber-stamped by a civic committee set up for that purpose. He discovers his fate only when led to death, freedom or a labor camp.

All counterrevolutionaries serving sentences must do hard labor "to reform themselves," even when they are in for life. Peiping has recently initiated a "magnanimous" sentence of "death, with execution suspended for two years." During this period the prisoner may be executed at any time if he fails to show appropriate repentance. "Minor and repentant counterrevolutionaries," after signing confessions, are released upon the production of guarantors or let out of jail to remain under the "surveillance" of the Public Security Bureau and "the masses" for one or more years. Thus the public, as well as the police, have access to their daily activities and thoughts.

It is not necessary to go outside the government's official statements to discover why, after a period of relative tolerance, the communists turned to control by force and intimidation. This

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tensated and highly successful drive against anticommunist guerrillas—can be attributed to several factors. First, by late 1950 and early 1951, the communists had sufficiently organized and extended the machinery of a police state so that they could enforce drastic measures of control. Second, the commencement of the Korean war caused or coincided with an outbreak in China of overt, sporadic, widespread, though largely unco-ordinated hostility to the communists. This was expressed by such acts as sabotage, murder of communist cadres, arson, plunder of government food storehouses, small-scale uprisings and an increase in guerrilla forces. Finally the communists felt they must wipe out every conceivable focus of revolt in China to prepare for their own intervention in Korea and for the possibility of Kuomintang raids upon the mainland or of the outbreak of total war with America.

Pointing out that spies and saboteurs will continue their nefarious activities as long as Chiang Kai-shek and American "imperialism" exist, the communists warn that the struggle against counterrevolutionaries must become even more acute. Plans for the immediate future include clearing the congested jails of accumulated and unsentenced cases, setting up hard-labor camps, enlarging the volunteer police with young people who are politically pure, and educating the relatives of counterrevolutionaries.

The communists claim that the Campaign for the Suppression of Counterrevolutionaries has already scored tremendous success. They state it has liquidated many spies and saboteurs, decreased guerrilla activity and frightened many enemies of the

has even helped the people hate America, say the communists.

Certain of the communist claims are accurate. There is much less overt opposition to communist rule than eight or ten months ago. There is now no open criticism of communist policies. Undoubtedly the communists have liquidated considerable real and potential opposition to their regime and have strengthened the iron control of the government.

But the outstanding fruit of the campaign against counterrevolutionaries is the terrorization of the Chinese people. Under harsh conditions, through the centuries, Chinese have always found a way to joke, to gossip and to laugh. Now an almost palpable pall of fear hangs over many of China's towns and cities.

The communists have substituted control by fear and force for rule by consent and persuasion. In spite of the feeling of national pride and strength for which the communists are responsible, in spite of the undoubted accomplishments of their administration—stabilization of the economy, virtual elimination of corruption, construction of roads and railroads, projects in water conservancy and establishment of law and order—the communists no longer have the spontaneous support of the majority of the adult population. They had it once.

"When we came here," communist Mayor Chen Yi, of Shanghai, is reported to have said recently to his associates, "sixty per cent of the people were for us. Now eighty per cent of the people are against us. Once only corrupt Kuomintang generals and officials were against us. But now—now it is the Chinese people."